

Emigration, A Force of Social Change In An Arab Village

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ABSTRACT

Between 1700 and 1800, Bsharman, on the northern slope of Lebanon, developed into an independent village community, with a population of 1200. Thereafter, the available land could not support any further increase, and, despite a high rate of natural increase, the population remained stationary. Pressure was relieved through intensive emigration. Three other factors seem to have contributed to this emigration trend: (1) The advent into the locality of "cash" as a prestige bearing value, (2) The influence of the American Protestant Mission, (3) Escape from cultural control. Between 1800 and 1900, about 487 people emigrated to foreign countries (mainly North and South America) and 23 to other localities within the country. As a result of this intensive emigration trend the village cultural organization was severely shaken, as evidenced by the following observed facts: (1) Social control broke down. (2) New social institutions arose. (3) Cash became a supreme value. (4) The village woman attained economic independence. (5) The kinship status relationships were disrupted.

Entre 1700 y 1800, Bsharman, en las colinas del norte de Lebanon, se desarrolló en un pueblo independiente, con una población de 1200. Desde entonces, la única tierra arable que había, no podía soportar mayores aumentos y a pesar de más que la norma de aumento natural la población permaneció estacionaria. Se alivió la presión por medio de una emigración intensa. Hay tres factores que parecen haber contribuido todo a esta tendencia de emigración: (1) La llegada del dinero a la localidad como señal de prestigio. (2) La influencia de la misión protestante americana. (3) El escape de la cultura del control cultural. Entre 1800 y 1900, cerca de 487 personas se emigraron a países extranjeros (mayormente a las Américas) y 23 a otras localidades dentro del país. Como resultado de esta intensa tendencia a la emigración, la organización cultural del pueblo se disolvió seriamente, como lo prueban las siguientes hechas observadas: (1) El control social se debilita. (2) Nuevas instituciones sociales nacieron. (3) El dinero asumió un valor supremo. (4) Las mujeres del pueblo obtuvieron independencia económica. (5) Las relaciones del parentesco se alteraron.

62/ In the period between 1700 and 1720, the village community of Bishmireen, North Lebanon, began its existence. Three family groups, belonging to different kinship groups, from various parts of the country, made the start. A church was built, and around it, as a physical and a societal center, the physical structure and social organization of the village developed. By 1730, three or four other family groups joined the vil-

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641 age. Those with the other family groups multiplied in time into distinct kinship groups, similar in structure and behavior to those from which they originally came. By intermarriage, by living together in close physical proximity and by working together on the land, members of the various kinship groups developed a village community consciousness.

Between 1650 and 1800 the village achieved a harmonious, smoothly functioning form of social organization. Its local government was simple

62 Not adequate for its needs and problems. Relationship with the central government was remote and did not go much beyond the payment of taxes and tithes. Loyalty to the kinship group struck a harmonious balance with loyalty to the village community. The church was one and the same for all. Its authority was recognized and respected. The priest was always a member of the community and was elected by the people. Economic life was a mixture of private ownership of land requiring individual effort on the one hand and co-operation in various agricultural activities on the other. Education was simple, adapted to the needs of the community, and the teacher was a farmer, a member of the group. It was a type of education that emanated from and catered to the needs of community life.

63 After 1890, new factors, which were to a large extent beyond the expectation and control of the people, began to operate within the community, leading to a marked disruption in its harmonious organization. The most important among these factors or forces were the Protestant missions of the U. S., the silk factory, the educational movement, emigration and the new political-national spirit of the Arab World. The present article will deal with one of these—the emigration movement.

Why Did They Emigrate?

64 Disturbance of the land-population balance: Since the village began its

65 The Greek Orthodox Church predominates in Balutim and the whole of the Kura district.

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Perseance, some two hundred and fifty years ago, the amount of its landed property has remained practically the same. In fact, there has been some decrease in the land area, due to the sale of some plots to outsiders. The early families, who established the village, got hold of the land and made use of it to the extent demanded by their needs. They were few in number and their needs were very simple.

See ¹⁴³ Consequently, during the first one hundred and fifty years or so, the balance of the land-population relationship was weighted heavily on the land side—a much greater supply than there was demand. This gave the village people (consciously or unconsciously) a strong impetus to increase their numbers. At the same time, it was realized that one more child on the farm was a decided economic asset, and not a liability. The growing child cost less to be brought up than he or she could produce. No taxation, school fees, medical expenses, etc., to speak of, were involved. The people went on multiplying and increasing, and concomitantly, dividing and subdividing the land without being in the least concerned with the point to which the process was leading them.

The village population went on increasing, until about 1890. A balance was then struck—between the capacity of the village land and the number of people. The land could not support any more people, and there was a vague consciousness of a growing problem—what will the rising generation do? Eventually, the village

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21/ *amateur, the village*
 167 soil began to show signs of depletion. It could no longer give the same produce as when it was virgin soil; and the old methods of agriculture were not capable of rehabilitating the soil to the desired extent. This further disturbed the land-population balance and made the problem seem more acute. Emigration seemed to be the only solution.

168 The following table (I) of births
 169 and deaths for a period of 40 years
 is a fair indication of the rate at

TABLE I. NUMBER OF BIRTHS AND DEATHS
 IN THE VILLAGE OF BIKKUNJUN,
 NORTH LEBANON, 1870-1909

Period	Number of Births		
	Births	Deaths	over deaths
1870-1874	100	37	63
1875-1879	64	40	24
1880-1884	72	34	38
1885-1889	80	44	36
1890-1894	118	30	88
1895-1899	120	34	86
1900-1904	164	40	124
1905-1909	178	43	135
Total	973	304	670

which the village population was growing. The period covered is 1870-1909. The increase due to immigration may be neglected since only a few families came to settle in the village after 1870. It must be admitted that the writer cannot affirm the perfect accuracy of the table. It was calculated from the village church records and verified, as far as their memories permitted, by some of the village elders. The table shows a very high increase of births over deaths for that period—about 2.2 times.

This shows an average natural increase of about 12 per 1000 population for the period 1870-1909. Compare this rate with the following rates (1880-1910): Austria,

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The lure of cash: At the beginning ¹⁶⁷
of this period under consideration
(1890-1930) cash was becoming more
and more significant in value—as a
new form of prestige and as a means
for the satisfaction of newly arising
needs. People became conscious of it
and began to search for ways of get-
ting hold of it. America supplied the
best answer for the new quest. Stories
about that wonderful new country,
where gold could be had for the ask-
ing, reached the village and stirred
the imagination of a few adventurous
souls. They sailed away, they sent
gold back and then returned home
with more gold. The ball started roll-
ing, gathering size and momentum
during the past fifty years.

Influence of the American Mission: ¹⁶⁷
When the missionaries began their ¹⁹⁷
activities in Hahmimoon and other
villages, they had no idea that, in the
course of time, their message was
going to enhance the emigration
movement of the area. They taught
the people English, thus making it
easier for them to enter the U. S. A.
and get hold of its coveted gold.
Through the school curriculum and
their religious message, they offered
the people the elements of a new cul-
ture and led them to identify them-
selves with it. That identification gave
additional impetus to the emigration
movement. The following extracts
from the early mission reports will
serve to throw further light upon the
emigration movement.

¹⁶⁷ (a) "In the centennial year of 1892, 1897
Spain discovered America. Since that
time, reports of the wealth and suc-

167 eral gullibility of the American people have been spread through the Maronite region of the Lebanon. In some districts, the excitement may be compared to the gold rush fever period of California and Australia. . . ."

"The American fever has touched us at a few points. In the spring, our teachers at Anfeh and Batroun resigned. After some delay, one of them went to America. The other wished to go, but discovered he could not do so. The leading member of the church . . . also went to America, having shared his cash possessions of 70 "Liras" (gold pound) with his wife, leaving her 3 and taking the rest with him. . . ."

426 *Escape from cultural control:* It is 167 obvious that every culture, in order to maintain its specific organization, has to establish and exercise a certain degree of social control over the behavior of the group members. It seems that, no matter how harmoniously integrated that organization may be, as long as social control exists, some of the individuals concerned have to suffer from a certain degree of frustration. This seems to be the inevitable price any cultural group has to pay for the attainment of group solidarity and continuity.

In the case of Hishmonism, social control has never assumed an extreme character, and individual frustration has never been an acute problem. Before the American World (the world of free individualism) was discovered by Hishmonism, these free-

166 frustrated individuals had to face the issue and put up with the stringent situation, in accordance with the dictates of the village culture. When America was "discovered," an outlet, an escape was provided, and many a frustrated individual took up the newly offered chance.

Extent of Emigration

167 Emigration to foreign countries:

499 Prior to 1880, not a single individual had ever emigrated from the village to the outside, either within the country or to a foreign country. Nahmiasen constituted the world of the village group. Even mobility was highly restricted. Visits to neighboring villages were very infrequent. A few used to take occasional trips to the town of Tripoli, and still a fewer number had been to Beirut. Occasionally some adventurous souls would take a pilgrimage to Jerusalem or a cattle trading trip to Egypt. One of the old village songs, aiming at the praise of a husband's valor, begins with the following line: "Your husband, oh beautiful one, has gone to Damascus and come back, alone." Damascus is about 100 miles from Nahmiasen.

168 In 1884 the first young man from Nahmiasen emigrated to a foreign country. Others followed, and the number increased, year after year, first to the U. S. A., then to the four corners of the world. The following table (III) shows the geographical distribution of the Nahmiasen emigrants.

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167 TABLE III. NUMBER OF EMIGRANTS FROM THE VILLAGE OF BISHMINEEN, NORTH LEBANON, TO VARIOUS COUNTRIES, 1890-1930

Country	Number of emigrants
U. K. A.	128
Argentina	125
Australia	54
Brazil	43
Mexico	13
Jamaica	10
Egypt	7
West Africa	7
Paraguay	6
Dominican	6
USA	3
Canada	3
Panama	2
Other	9
Total	457

The following table (IV) shows the trend of emigration from Bishmineen to various foreign countries by periods of five years each.

TABLE IV. THE TREND OF EMIGRATION FROM THE VILLAGE OF BISHMINEEN, NORTH LEBANON, TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES, BETWEEN 1890 AND 1930 (AVERAGE TOTAL VILLAGE POPULATION FOR THE PERIOD, ABOUT 1200)

Period	EMIGRANTS		Total
	Male	Female	
1890-1894	1	-	1
1895-1899	1	-	1
1900-1904	1	-	1
1905-1909	1	-	1
1910-1914	11	1	12
1915-1919	20	1	21
1920-1924	22	1	23
1925-1929	22	1	23
1930-1934	22	1	23
1935-1939	22	1	23
1940-1944	22	1	23
Total	128	125	457

It will be observed that for the first ten or fifteen years, emigration moved slowly. The people were not yet sure of the fruits of emigration. After that initial period of hesitation, a rapid increase in the number of emi-

all (a)

grants began to take place. During ¹⁴⁵the period 1915-1919, a sharp drop occurred, due to the restrictions of the first World War. A similar drop occurred again during the period 1930-1934, and continued through the last period 1935-1939. The two causes responsible for this last drop were the world depression of 1929 (which led foreign countries to restrict immigration) and the appearance of a new trend of emigration—from the village to other parts of the country—as will be discussed below.

Emigration to other parts of the ¹⁴⁶*country:* Emigration within the country may be divided into two distinct types—permanent and temporary. The former covers those cases when the emigrants made their permanent residence in other parts of the country. The following table (V) indicates

TABLE V. EMIGRATION FROM THE VILLAGES OF BASHARAH, NORTH LEBANON TO OTHER PLACES WITHIN THE COUNTRY, 1920-1939 (AVERAGE TOTAL VILLAGE POPULATION FOR THE PERIOD ABOUT 1270)

Year	SEXES		Total
	Male	Female	
1920	1	0	1
1925	1	1	2
1929	1	1	2
1935	7	6	13
1939	6	6	12
Total	26	23	49

to what extent this type of emigration took place. (It must be pointed out that the figures of this and the previous table include only those emigrants who were born or established in the village and who emigrated from it. The figures do not include those who were born and grew up in the adopted countries.)

166 The second type, or temporary emigration, refers to a unique phenomenon which has recently occurred in the village. With the development of modern means of communication, a relatively large number of people (89 men and 73 women, or about 12.5 per cent of the total population) now migrate to other parts of the country (chiefly Tripoli and Beirut) where they engage in business, hold jobs or go to schools for nine months of the year, and come back to live in Hishmisen during the summer.

Illustrative Extracts from Personal Letters

167 In the course of his study in the village, the writer was fortunate in being able to examine about 100 letters written by emigrants to their people back home. Usually, the village people destroy such letters, and the writer had not expected to find any left in the village. The letters studied cover almost the whole of the emigration period, 1896-1933. The items they contain give first hand information of what was happening to the emigrants and to the village organization under the influence of emigration. The following are illustrative extracts from these letters:

1. From M. H. Dakh to a distant relative, M. Y. Elias; on the way to Argentina, dated June 7th, 1897.

"... When we reached Kafarhata (village on way to Beirut) we stopped at the spring. There we met K. Mikay, a son and M. Halib, who were leaving for America too. ... At Beirut, we were betrayed by those

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62 friends. . . . We were made to pay
 186 seven gold pounds and a half for the
 ticket, while they paid five or six
 each. Never mind! Providence will re-
 ward them with what they deserve.
 . . . Please let us know about the
 health of your children and their
 mother, and about our son Deeb and
 his mother. Also, let us know how
 was the olive crop and how was the
 wall case settled. . . ." (Stone walls
 are used as fences between pieces of
 land property, and have often been
 the cause of minor disputes in the
 village).

2. Same as above; dated March
 14th, 1939.

" . . . As regards L. Milky, he has
 sent me two letters so far, asking
 for the amount I owe him. I wonder
 what has happened to the man! Is he
 in such a great need, or is he afraid
 that I shall not pay him back the
 amount? Please do your best to settle
 the affair, and I shall send you the
 money soon. . . . Business is bad in
 this country at present, and I have
 opened a new store which needs all
 of my cash money. . . . Dear brother,
 please tell me about the house and
 our land property, also let me know
 what happened to the fig tree which
 I planted near the fence wall. . . ."

3. From H. Barkis to his mother;
 Cleveland, Ohio, Nov. 27th, 1938.

" . . . Tell me how much it has cost
 you to plant the new orchard, and I
 shall send you the amount. . . . Is it
 true that my brother wants to sell
 his share of the land? If so, let me
 know how much is the amount, and
 I shall send it to you; then you will

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626 transfer his share to my name. . . .
/16/ Tell me the truth about the whole
situation and stop writing each time
differently. . . ."

4. From above mother to her son;
Dated Dec. 1st, 1902.

" . . . May God grant you health
and happiness, with your two sisters,
of whom I think day and night. So
far I have received from you 16
pounds, then 14 pounds and lately 6
pounds. . . . Tell your sister Deebah
that her children are doing very well.
I have sent her a small bunch of the
hair of each child. My only request
from you, my son, is to take care of
your two sisters and be generous in
sending us enough money; May God
bless you. We have bought for you
the olive orchard. If you have an
extra amount now, send it, and we
shall buy more land for you. . . ."

5. From M. E. Deeb to M. Y. Elias,
Santiago, Argentina; dated July 25th,
1902.

" . . . The anxiety you express
about your son Selim has disturbed
me a great deal. . . . Please be sure
that he is working with me in the
store as a son and not as a servant,
as you say you were told by some of
our people. These are people of gossip
and jealousy, who want to sow the
seeds of dispute between us. . . . In
the name of the love and friendship
between us, I assure you that I love
your son Selim more than my own
children. . . . The coming long years
will prove this to you, and God will
reveal the truth. . . ."

6. From Y. M. Elias to his father:

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Santiago, Argentina; dated Oct. 24th
1904. 176

"... I have previously written you that my aunt wants me to marry her daughter, Miriana. I see that this is a good match. She is nice and well educated, and I don't believe there is any better girl back in our village. But your consent is my primary concern, and I beg of you not to deny me this request, for Miriana is a gem..."

[532]

7. From three sons to their father, 62
H. B. Neijjar, back home; Barrage, 16
Australia, dated Dec. 23rd, 1908. 573

"... Two weeks ago, we sent you a check for 50 pounds. ... Our dear father, we have to remark about the way you write to us, and that it should not be so. Your letters contain many statements in which you address us and praise us in such a way, as if we were the masters and you the followers. There is no need for this at all, and our financial success should not change the relationship between us. We are your sons and shall always be obedient to you and do all we can to serve you. ... Write us as father and master, who orders his servants to do their duty towards him. ..."

8. From H. Backe to his relative
J. T. Elmer; Cleveland, Ohio; dated
March 20th, 1911.

"... Please forgive the manner in which I wrote you last, doubting your honesty in handling money I sent you for my mother and the family. It was all the fault of my sister who sent me false news and made me write to you as I did. I know now that she was after her selfish

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... May God never bless such a
... ..

9. From H. to his relative, I. T.
6-21 Elias, Penna., August 6th, 1914.

... I have sent you a telegram to foreclose the land property of N. (a fellow emigrant). He has refused to pay me what he owes me or to give me a mortgage on his land in the village. Then he resorted to a mean and immoral trick. He instigated his wife to bring a case against me in the courts, accusing me of assaulting her. He did that with the hope of getting much money out of me. ... Don't pay much attention to the newspaper's cuttings (referring to the case) that I understand some of our judges and even people here have sent to the village. In this country, all things, little and big, are written up in papers, and nobody pays much attention to them. ... Later, N. discontinued the prosecution of the case and came over with some of my friends and begged my pardon. ...

64- 38. From S. M. Stabbed (middle / aged woman) to her relative, I. T. Stabbed, U. S. A., April 1st, 1978.

... The news of my son's death has broken my heart and my life. I don't know what to think or say. He was my only child. I brought him up until he was married, and then procured him from sailing to America, as I did not want to expose him to any danger. I sailed away in his place, and have been laboring for years to gather some money, on which his children could grow up comfortably. ... He is gone now, and his child is the only one left for me. Please say

918 Attention to the child and his mother;
 579 give them all they need, until I come
 913 back. . . ."

11. From M. Y. Elias to his wife;
 Argentina, Feb. 2nd, 1929.

" . . . Within two months, our son
 Selim will leave for home, so as to get
 married in the village and bring back
 all of you with him. Come with him
 to this country which is our new
 home and which gives us honey and
 milk. . . . Bring with you the fol-
 lowing: (1) three fig seedlings (2)
 two grapevine seedlings (3) one red
 and one white hawthorne seedling (4)
 hindane seeds (5) some "Arak"
 (local drink) (6) some olive oil. . . .
 Forget all about our property in the
 village. Let our relations take care
 of it. Upon your arrival here, you will
 see that we own as much land as the
 whole village of Rahmimoon. . . ."
 (Subsequently, the whole family left,
 father, mother, three sons and three
 daughters.)

12. From S. Najjar to her relative;
 Iruan, Argentina, March 7th, 1929.

" . . . I shall send you enough
 money to buy back all the pieces of
 land that used to belong to my late
 husband. You know I am not making
 of this a business affair for profit. I
 am doing this only because I want to
 keep alive the memory of my husband
 and ancestors who used to own that
 land. I want our son to inherit the
 land. . . ."

64/ The Village Organization in Hahon
 And How Adjustments Are
 Attempted

Analysis of the above mentioned
 tables, cases and letter extracts were

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As lead to the following general conclusions concerning the influence of emigration upon the social organization of the village:

424 1. Social control breaks down: The influence of emigration, as a convenient escape from social control, has been discussed above. It is mentioned again, with a view to emphasizing its significance. At first, social control with its inevitable individual frustrations—was a factor in the enhancement of the emigration movement. However, once that step was taken, emigration began to react upon the social organization of the village and became a strong factor in the breakdown of its social control. The church and the kinship patterns of behavior were no longer adequate for the control of the elements in the new situation. A state of disorganization was the result.

248 2. End of the village post office as 424 an institution: Prior to the emigration movement, no regular post office existed in the village, and the people were not conscious of that institution in any significant manner. There was no need for it, as very few letters were received every month or so. With the advent of emigration, the situation was completely changed. Letters exchanged between the village and abroad became very frequent and highly significant. Through these letters, the ties between the emigrants and the folk at home were preserved and the flow of cash money into the village took place. Two concepts became highly significant in the people's vocabulary, as a result of

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that flow of correspondence. "Mah-Ja-S
 cash" (letter) and "Mahtash Mo-⁴¹
 cawker" (registered letter). A check¹⁵⁷
 was always contained in the regis-
 tered letter, and it became the symbol
 of joy and festivities for the family
 group.

Once or twice a week, the mail
 came to the village. Many hours be-
 fore the arrival of the mail, people
 would assemble in the barber shop
 of Uncle Deeb (for he became the
 uncle of everybody) who was respon-
 sible for the distribution of the mail.
 For hours, before and after mail dis-
 tribution, people would linger there,
 exchanging the news of their emi-
 grants and having a social time.
 Usually, Uncle Deeb preferred to put
 the registered letters aside and then
 give them in person to the families
 concerned. That was his reward—to
 be a messenger of joy to the people.
 As he went around, he spread the
 news of the registered letters far and
 wide, until everybody began to talk
 about them.

1. Cash money becomes a supreme¹⁶⁷
 value in village life. Through the silk¹⁶⁶
 industry, foreign missions and con-¹⁵⁷
 tact with the city, cash money, as a¹⁷⁵
 highly desirable article of value, was
 introduced into the village organiza-
 tion. In order to obtain more of this
 new value, emigrants were hired
 abroad. Through hard or easy work,
 straight or crooked means, they got
 hold of the precious cash and sent it
 back to their people. Without any ex-
 ception, every single one of these let-
 ters mentioned above, referred to
 cash money that had been sent, was

167 sent or would be sent to the folks at
 136 home. Sending the money home had
 357 a double significance to the emigrants.
 178 It gave them the satisfaction of living up to the obligation to the kinship group and it built for them prestige in the home village. At the same time, prestige and the satisfaction of luxurious needs were the reward of those who received the checks. They could buy new things with the money, lend it for interest or acquire more land with it.

In a word, emigration was the last step with which the village plunged into the Western economic system and became highly "money conscious." Some fifteen years ago, one of the upstart leaders in Bishmizreen was reminded of the fact that the business he was conducting in Tripoli and Beirut was not considered as honest by the village folks. His answer was "Once I have a substantial amount of cash in my pocket, the people will forget all about the means by which I got the cash."

167 4. Emigrants fail to return to the
 624 village: At first, emigrants left the village, with a view to earning a certain amount of cash within a few years, and then returning to live in the village. The kinship and the communities ties were still strong, and the early emigrants considered the village as their true home. Some of these early emigrants, about 21, succeeded in carrying through the original intention—they came back and settled down permanently. The majority of those who returned, about 93, could not stay in the village more

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167 than a few months, a year or a few
621 years, before emigrating again. Their business ties and the new ways of living they had adopted forced them to emigrate again. They began to realize that they had become partly strangers to their original culture.

The great majority of the emigrants, 373, never came back. These may be divided roughly into two classes—those who failed to come back because of their financial failure abroad, and those who emigrated fairly recently after the community ties began to break down. The latter did not feel especially attracted toward the village.

[581] Of those who came back to visit, a great many of them did so with a view to getting married to village girls, before settling permanently abroad.

5. The village woman attains economic independence: Cases 10 and 12 of the above quoted letter extracts are clear illustrations of the new tendency. Among the 193 women, who have emigrated, about one-half took that step independently. Some of them were single, some were widows and some left their husbands and 167 children at home. Prior to emigration,
621 village culture assigned to woman a
662 status subordinate to that of man. It seems that farm economy demanded that type of subordination. Emigration by women severely tested that established pattern of behavior. Through emigration, the village woman was suddenly thrown on her own resources. She moved from a status of subordination to one of dominance. She became the economic

167 Head of the family, and her cash gave
4.24 her prestige.

242 In this respect, the silk industry,
the education movement, and emigra-
tion were equally influential. They
brought about what may be called
the "emancipation" of woman. How-
ever, it must be clearly stated that
that emancipation brought in its wake
a great deal of cultural conflict and
social disorganization. Until now,
people in the village are still confused
about how to define a situation in
which a woman is involved. Should
they define it in terms of the old pat-
tern of behavior, or in terms of the
new economic prestige attained by
woman? Can S. M. Jeha ask his
wife (who earned the money in
America and who holds the property
in her name) to do something for
him, or must he obey her orders?
Should the children of C. W. Desk
look up to their father as the head of
the family, or to their mother who
sends them the cash from abroad?

253 6. The parent-child status relation-
266 ship is broken down: Not only did
177 the man-woman status relationship
undergo a change but also that of the
parent and child. Most of those who
emigrated were young men, who had
always played the role of dependents,
subject to the authority of the parent
or grandparent. Emigration put these
young people on their own, when they
had to face new situations as inde-
pendent individuals. At the same
time, they earned that coveted cash
and sent it home. The symbol of eco-
nomic prestige began to shift from
the land to cash. With that, a corres-

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Responding shift in the parent-child status relationship took place. Again, *confusion* in behavior was the inevitable result.

In case 3 above, the young emigrant sends his mother much money; but at the same time he scolds her and orders her to tell him the truth about her financial situation.

In case 4, we see the young man still living up to the old standards by consulting his father about the girl he intends to marry. However, some twenty years later, that same young man deserted and completely neglected his parents and kinship group.

Case 7 is another illuminating illustration. The three young men are bewildered by the new status assumed by their father! They urge him to continue playing the role of the family head and master, while he insists on giving that to them, because of their financial prestige!

6.2/ 7. Other indications of divergent action: Case 1 shows how the co-operative background of the five or six emigrants was shattered by the elements of the new situation. Some of them were able to get tickets at the rate of five pounds a ticket, while the others had to pay seven and a half for a ticket. The latter felt betrayed by and estranged from their companions.

Case 2 shows how the emigrant became indignant over the fact that a friend at home wrote the emigrant insisting that he should pay back his debt. The emigrant cannot reconcile this attitude with his conception of village friendship.

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Case 1 clearly shows the conflict between the role of a village friend or a kinship member and that of a profit-seeking man. The older emigrant is torn between the two roles. Should he share his business with the son of his friend and relative as they used to share back home, or should he keep the boy in the store as a simple worker? At home, the son's father is bewildered, and his faith in people and life is shaken.

Case 2 shows the confusion and conflict in the behavior of the emigrant. His sister had incited him against their relative, accusing him of mishandling the money that had been sent by the brother. The emigrant writes a scolding letter to the relative, then sends an apology, turning his wrath against his sister.

Case 3 shows the conflict between two cultures, the culture of the new country and the one imported by the emigrants. N. borrows money from H. and fails to pay it back. H. strikes back according to the pattern of the new culture—debts must be paid. He sends a telegram to a relative of both urging foreclosure of N's land. (The reader may imagine the influence of such a telegram descending upon the little quiet village of Bishaminzen.) N. strikes back by accusing H. of assaulting his (N's) wife and taking the case to the court, demanding financial indemnity. That was the most extreme departure from the village mores. It meant that N. was selling his wife's honor for money.

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6.1/ This and several similar scandals
/7/ engaged the attention and gossip of
the village for years. They went far
beyond the foundation of the
village system of justice.

Reference G. 0-4 (no case) 1941
1941 Volume 1941

2.00 Is shaking the foundations of the vi-
sage patterns of behavior.

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